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the abdomen, and to this end her mother continues to press it. She is given a little soup, prepared from dry corn, if she wants it. This procedure is repeated on the three subsequent nights. Her husband, too, bathes four times. Sometimes delivery is difficult, labor lasting three days or even four. Then everyone is told to come and advise what course to take. A woman who has a good delivery returns to her tasks after one night; if it has been difficult she can work after four days. Her husband, however, is not prohibited from working. 844 846

Twin births are rare and multiple births have never been heard of. Monsters are unknown. Three instances of twin births were recalled by my old informant: Pakádagó'ová, now a man of sixty; twin sisters in the past generation; and a pair now dead, were born to a young woman.[1] 845

Twins (*hawedpídjá*) differ from other children only in the sympathetic bond that unites them. If one sickens and dies, the other will also.[2] Pakádagó'ová's twin sister was destroyed at birth; wrapped in a blanket and buried. To indicate the efficacy of the custom, my informant pointed out that the survivor has lived to be an old man. In this case he did not know which twin was born first, nor why the girl was selected. It is believed that twins are due to the circumstance that the pregnant woman, before the foetus is well-developed, lies first on one side, then turns quickly on the other, thus splitting the "fluid" in two parts. Intercourse during pregnancy does not cause this, yet such relations are improper. [843]

The old women attendants mould the head and face of the new-born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, pinch up the bridge of the nose, pull down the ears, press up the hard palate, and rub the thumb along the gums. They repeat this whenever the baby is washed, straightening the body and limbs, and unclenching the fists. No intentional deformation is practised. Occipital flattening occurs but rarely, and that little is moderate and presumably accidental.[3] [844] 856 [304]

Contraceptive devices are unknown. Some women are barren (*pik'igiθgiaidadj*, barren woman—used contemptuously): it is not known why. One does not pray for children, but a young girl who is barren may drink a decoction of ground abalone shell in water. The shell (*hólkal'ó'pá*) is obtained through the Mohave. The lines on it represent the ocean waves. 842 [439]

[1] The ratio of twin births among whites is 1:89.1 or 93.1 (Zeleny, 262). If the death rate for twins is no greater than for others, we would expect to find only one or two living in a population of 176. [163]

[2] A Paviotso belief (Lowie, (l), 206).

[3] Hrdlička, (f), 83 records one instance among twenty-five individuals.

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The baby's first

854 thin hair is sometimes clipped off and tied in cloth in little bundles which
[852] [827] are swung from the hoop. This is so that the hair will grow thick; if these were thrown away the hair would not grow. When the end of the
[846] umbilical cord drops off, it is similarly wrapped and hung on the hoop.
[732] If it is lost or thrown away the child will grow up idiotic. When at last the child can walk, the dry cord is ground to a powder which is smeared
856 longitudinally around his body from head to crotch and up the back to the head. This is done so that the cord will not be lost, i.e., it is returned to his body so that he will always have it. Mothers object somewhat to
[531] selling these articles with the cradle. The ornamentation of the cradle does not differ for boy or girl.

262 The parents of infants must exercise a number of precautions. The
853 new mother must eat only corn soup in order to have a free flow of milk. Corn or bean mush is far too mealy. Similarly salt will dry up the flow; for salt on the ground makes it hard. And if her husband eats meat the woman will be harmed just as though she had partaken. Although
262 mountain lion flesh is sometimes eaten, it cannot be eaten or even touched
[753] by those who have babes in arms, for the latter will pine, their eyes sink in, their bellies ache, and diarrhoea ensues. This also applies to the flesh of a deer slain by a mountain lion. The parents of crawling children do
[856] not kill snakes for fear that the child will resemble the snake, i.e., not be strong enough to walk at the proper time. Infants are not permitted to
[753] eat salt; it would cause white sores on the tongue.

854 No special prayers are offered for the growth of a child, nor is any reason assigned for the growing process, it is so "just because the child suckles and eats." A fretful nursing infant is given an adult's finger to
862 suck. Weaning is begun when the child can walk a few steps unsupported; when it runs alone, the process is ended. During this period the child is given a little of everything others eat (and it includes a vast array of indigestible foods!) for there are no special foods for weaning.

Names

551 Havasupai names are freely used in address or reference: they have no special emotional or religious significance. They are even told to strangers without much hesitation. This seems to be a corollary both of their insignificant character, for they are mostly nicknames or meaningless words, and of their being labels casually given by others rather than names assumed. Undoubtedly this common use of names accounts in
[601] part for the imperfect usage of relationship terms, to which I have referred. They do not like to name the dead, relatives or others, but their

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sticks placed side by side or by a single broad strip of wood. The Zuñi also use four sticks, but with the tops of the arches spread apart.[2] that of the middle mesa Hopi is similar but uses three sticks. Mescalero, Western Apache, and Mosapa have arches made of reeds bound or woven together. One Western Apache form consists of broad splints set transversely in an arch. It is also possible that Hrdlička's description of the San Carlos hood may refer to the hoop form. This is the type of the Havasupai, Walapai, Mohave, Pima, and probably Kailuli. The construction of the first three is almost identical, while the Pima hoop is woven in checker or twill.[3]

I will not discuss the relation of these flat cradles to those of the Eastern Woodlands, the sitting type of northern California, nor the wooden trough of the Northwest Coast.

The navel cord is tied to the cradle hood by the Havasupai, Mosapa, Southern and Uintah Ute, Paviotso, and the Northern Maidu of the mountains. Like the Havasupai, the two Ute groups believe the child will be foolish or sickly if this is lost or thrown away. The same practice and a similar belief was recently found among the Michahai (Yokuts) and Wakaachi (Western Mono) by A. H. Gayton. All these people (excepting Havasupai and Maidu ?) dispose of it by burial.[5] The Klallam infants carry the cord tied to the wrist; if lost, they become foolish.[6]

Havasupai names are either meaningless or they are nicknames. This is also the case with the Southern Ute and, I gather at Zuñi, while among Mosapa, Shivwits, and at Cochiti they are always meaningless. Elsewhere in this region names have definite meanings although these vary in character. Among Uintah Ute, Wind River and Lemhi Shoshoni, Klamath, Paviotso, and Yavapai these are usually nicknames referring to the personal characteristics or actions of the name's bearer. This is the usual type of name which Navaho men bear, but as boys they are named, like the girls, with reference to war. Pima names also have meanings, and, like the Havasupai, their men have in later life names referring to sex, especially the female, or to their own peculiarities. Similarly nicknames are given by the Northern Maidu of the foot-hill region: those of the mountains give similar names but these are the names of deceased relatives or friends. Such naming for the dead is the custom among the Maidu of the Sacramento Valley and of the Southern Maidu.[8]

[2] Mindeleff, 193.
[3] Russell, 149.
[4] Lowie, (i), 268-9; Dixon, (a), 220.
[5] Gayton, 254.
[6] Lowie, (i), 270-3; (a), 211; Parsons, (c); Starr, (a), 42; Corbusier, 331; Franciscan Fathers, 119-126; Russell, (d), 188; Dixon, (a), 282; Pepa, 55.

854 285 283 The cradleboard, 70 to 75 cm. in length and about 25 cm. in width, consists of an oval foundation across which willow slats are placed to form the backboard. A circular, woven hood about 38 cm. in diameter is fastened at right angles to the backboard so that the baby's head will lie within its protection. Four buckskin or cloth loops are sewed along each side of the backboard, with a long lacing strap attached to the upper left loop. Formerly, a shorter cord, attached to the upper left loop, was laced through the two upper pairs of loops, and a second cord, joined to the third loop on the right hand side, could be loosened separately to facilitate cleaning the baby. A tumpline, formerly attached, is no longer added. When buckskin was in ready supply, it was used for the loops, tumpline, binding straps, and bindings on the backboard and hood. At present, strips of cotton material are used on most of the cradleboards.

854 [34] [237] To prepare a cradle for an infant in earlier times, shredded juniper bark was used for padding the backboard and for a headrest inside the hood. A well tanned buckskin blanket was spread over the juniper bark. The nude infant was placed on the buckskin with a disposable diaper of rabbit fur, finely shredded juniper bark, or a mixture of fur and bark beneath his buttocks and thighs and over the pubic area. With the baby's legs straight and his arms at his sides, the buckskin blanket was folded sheath-like over his body, leaving only his face and head exposed. The binding cord was crisscrossed through the side loops over the buckskin blanket, immobilizing the [177] baby with the exception of his head. At a later time, a Hopi or Navaho blanket was substituted for the buckskin; more recently, this was replaced by commercial receiving or crib blankets. Today, infants are dressed in baby clothes of design popular in the white culture.

852 There is little ceremony other than the symbolic face and body molding at the birth of a child. Procedure in the care of the infant is essentially the same for both sexes.

Infant Care

844 854 While his mother rests for four days and nights on a bed of damp sand smoothed over heated rocks, the infant lies supine on the cradle within reach of her hand. A baby is cared for by his maternal grandmother or by his mother if she feels well enough. Men are not barred from the presence of the mother or the infant during or following the birth. The baby's father customarily assists at the birth, and if he is present, he builds a fire and reheats the rocks for the mother's bed each night and morning.

● 846 854 Following the birth and on three subsequent mornings, the baby and both of his parents are ceremonially bathed in yucca suds, the baby being bathed by his maternal grandmother first, while his parents and paternal grandmother look on. Thus, the father, mother, and newborn child share in a ritual act which identifies them as a family. The father and other male relatives devote some attention to the baby, usually displaying a particular

interest if it is a boy.

In former times, the ear lobes of a newborn infant were pierced. A long string attached to each ear lobe was ornamented with turquoise beads. 846 854 [301 304]

The infant is usually fed as soon as colostrum appears, or a day or two after birth. The feeding schedule is regulated by the baby's demands or by the mother's desire for relief when her breasts are full. Formerly, if the mother died at the birth or during the nursing period, or if her milk supply failed, the baby was given second place at the breast of another nursing mother. If this milk supply was not adequate for both babies, the second infant was fed a soup made by boiling dried peaches, or a liquid in which mashed juniper berries had been soaked. If no wet nurse was available, the baby was fed entirely on peach soup and a little of the juniper berry juice. In post-contact times, sugar was added to these liquids. At least one elderly man now living is said to have survived on sweetened peach soup until he could digest thin corn gruel. At present, many babies are fed entirely or partially on a formula of equal parts of canned milk and water. 853 [177]

Birth practices for babies born at home have remained essentially as they have been described. However, today many births are attended by white physicians. Babies born in hospitals, of course, do not receive the customary body molding and painting nor the yucca suds bath. There seems to be no consistent effort to perform these acts after the infant is brought home, but from the time he leaves the hospital, routine is much the same as it was in earlier times. 844 177

A couple's firstborn child may receive more attention from the mother than do the later children. A mother usually has full responsibility for her first child, with the exception of some assistance from the baby's grandmothers or unmarried aunts. If the infant happens to have a young aunt in the same household, the aunt may be assigned to tend the baby a large part of the time. Children who are born second, third, or later in a family usually are left with an older sibling while the mother works. If there is a grandmother in the residence group, she also assists with the care of the baby. 854

When the baby is about two weeks old, he is bound tightly in the cradle, which is placed in an upright position for short intervals. Whenever the cradle is in a vertical position, with the infant's arms bound inside, the baby is watched closely to make sure he does not slip down and strangle on the binding strap or smother in the blanket.

When the baby's navel cord drops off, it is wrapped in buckskin or cloth and tied to the hood of the cradle. One informant stated that if this were not done the baby's chest would become flat instead of developing the proper depression in the center. 826 846

The blisters are treated
by sprinkling on them a mixture of red ocher and dried cottontail or jack rabbit tongue ground on a metate. 757

Learning to Walk

A child is encouraged to walk by being held upright and moved forward so that his feet fall into steps. As soon as he thrusts a foot forward by his own volition, he is held up to walk a short distance. The baby may be placed near a low object so he can pull up and stand or walk with support. A few babies walk at nine months, but it is more usual for them to learn at one year or a little later. When a child totters or falls, he should not be laughed at, for this will discourage further attempts. Nevertheless, one of the women who made this statement was observed laughing at her child's faltering steps and saying, "She walks like a cripple." Even after a child walks alone, he is frequently carried by an older sister or his mother. 868 956

Formerly, the baby's first moccasins were put on when he began to walk, but then, as now, young children went barefoot much of the time. [291]

The baby usually makes a gradual transition from the cradle to independent mobility. When the cradle is no longer needed, it may be saved for a later child or it may be thrown away, but it is "not burned, because that would cause barrenness" (Spier 1928, 302). Fragments of discarded cradles may be observed near some of the camps. [842]

Returning the Umbilical Cord

When a child is about one year old or begins to walk, the dried remnant of the umbilical cord is removed from the cradle hood, ground on a metate, and mixed with powdered red ocher and deer fat or a substitute. The umbilical cord is then returned to the child's body by painting a line of the mixture from his hairline down the center of the forehead, nose, chin, and body to the genitals and up the back to the base of the skull. A line is also drawn from the tip of the third finger, up the arms to the shoulders and across the chest. Another line extends from the armpits down the sides of the body and the legs, and up the inner surface of the legs to the crotch. This act is performed to insure good behavior throughout the individual's life. If the umbilical cord has been lost, or if this ritual act is omitted, the child may be unruly, or may grow up forgetful and prone to lose things. 852 846 [302]

Toilet Training

Toilet training is a leisurely process accompanied by no harsh measures. It usually begins between 12 and 15 months, depending upon the mother's inclination. The toilet area for adults and older children is a short distance from camp among trees or brush, but a young child may use the yard, especially in the early morning. A mother assists the infant by stooping or squatting, with her arms supporting the baby in a sitting posture, 863 514 [516]

302 are discovered on a child.

177 302 [531] Face painting described by Spier (1928, 194-6), and formerly executed with red, black, sienna, or white paint in designs composed of lines, dots, or both, is no longer practiced. While women now occasionally paint their faces, they use red ocher mixed with a cosmetic cream, which is blended lightly in a wide band across the cheeks and bridge of the nose, and may also be applied to the forehead. The use of commercial cosmetics has largely replaced face painting in the original manner. Lipstick is common, while rouge, various creams, lotion, and face powder are in less general use.

304 Face tattooing is no longer practiced, but young people sometimes tattoo their hands or arms, the most popular decoration being a set of initials, probably belonging to a sweetheart. These are small in size, and one person seldom wears more than one or two sets. An informant, in describing the tattooing process, stated that leaves of the mesquite tree are mashed on a metate, moistened with water, and mixed with charcoal to form a paste. Spier (1928, 197) mentions only the use of ground charcoal.

826 832 [578] [516] Traditionally, to be attractive, a woman should be plump in body, legs and arms. Fat legs are considered essential to beauty. Young men say of a girl, "Her body is fat enough, but look at her legs--they're skinny." Or a boy who wishes to insult a girl, tells her she has skinny legs. Women are careful to avoid sitting with their legs extended straight in front of them, because this position permits the calves to hang down and would cause the legs to become too thin. This position is particularly avoided following childbirth.

[177] In recent years, under influence of beauty standards of the white culture, a few of the younger Havasupai women wish to remain slender; although there appears to be little or no effort made to lose weight, some women are careful not to gain it.

846 292 A Havasupai woman customarily wears a broad Hopi belt, or a band of other material, following childbirth to support her abdomen until it returns to normal size. In earlier times a band 2 or 3 in. wide was woven from juniper bark. An informant remarked that the women of a neighboring tribe don't do this "and that's why their bellies look like rubber."

302 856 [177] In addition to obervance of certain menstrual and childbirth taboos said to keep a woman youthful and attractive, a Havasupai woman should wash her face daily in cold water, rubbing the skin outward from the sides of the nose and upward on the neck, cheeks, and forehead, to prevent wrinkles. This routine is suspiciously reminiscent of advice given in movie magazines, which are popular with Havasupai women. However, an informant added: "I think this is true, because S----'s face is so smooth in her eighties, and she always did that. Your people don't know these things, and they start to

843 of diarrhea, other illness, or death. While coyote skins were used as part
825 of a dance costume, they were kept where children could not approach or touch them. Only people without children kept such skins in their houses.
[787] "The coyote is like the medicine man--a dangerous personage. If you hear a coyote howl near your camp, it means someone in your family will die soon."

843 Other foods as well as certain acts are prohibited or proscribed for
262 one or both parents during the prenatal and postnatal periods.

If an expectant mother ate too many nuts (originally pinyons) her baby would become so fat that birth would be difficult. Stealing food would cause a baby to be born with a tooth already cut.

All meat is taboo to the mother for about 10 days after birth, or until the postnatal flow of blood has ceased.

843 Both parents, but especially the mother, during pregnancy should avoid looking at any human, animal, inanimate object, or picture that is misshapen, grotesque, or in any way different from normal, as this could cause the baby to have the same deformity. Modern interpretation discourages an expectant mother from attending movies or reading comics to avoid seeing "something awful." Danger to the baby is intensified if the mother laughs at any strange sight she sees. She should glance away quickly and forget it.

There are no restrictions on a man's use of specific tools, but he must be careful in killing game not to break the legs, nor should he cut off the legs of any animal lest his child be born a cripple. If a man kills a snake or a lizard, his child may be a cripple or it may be weak, allow its head, arms, and legs to hang limply, and be unable to walk. (At no time should any person step on or over a snake or its tracks, as this may cause paralysis. However, it is permissible to kill a snake, with the above exception pertaining to pregnancy.)

843 Formerly women ate little or no salt before birth or afterward until a
263 baby stopped nursing. Too much salt eaten before birth would cause sores in the baby's mouth, or afterward, would dry up the mother's milk. Salt eaten before birth might also cause the mother's feet or the baby itself to swell. Now women eat salt after birth if their baby is bottle fed. Little or
[826] no salt is fed to babies, as it might cause sore mouth or diarrhea. Salt may also cause a woman's face to wrinkle prematurely.

[846] After the birth of her child, a woman drinks soup to bring milk and to keep the supply constant. Formerly this was a thin corn gruel.

mother died in labor, an attempt would be made to push or pull the baby out to save it. 845

Rites after Birth

Spier (1928, 300) reports, "A hole has been dug in front of the woman to receive the child, in which a blanket is folded in nest-like form." A hole is not dug at present. The baby is received on an old blanket or something that can be discarded. The placenta is buried, but blankets and clothing soiled with blood may be burned, buried, or placed in a tree. If the placenta were eaten by an animal, barrenness would result. Also, if these things were not properly disposed of, the child would not be healthy or well behaved. 844 [825 842]

Shortly after delivery or just before the next sunrise, the mother and father are bathed and their hair is washed in yucca suds by the woman's mother or a close female relative of either one of them. The father wears a breechcloth. One informant said that the father's hair is washed for him, but he bathes himself. The mother's cheeks are colored red with some of the paint prepared for the baby. The father is not painted. The shampoo and bath for both parents are repeated on the following three mornings before sunrise. 846 [515] [302]

The father sleeps with his head on a rounded rock pillow for four nights following a birth, so that he will awaken early to work in his fields or hunt for game. He also sleeps on such a pillow for four nights during the first menstrual period of his wife following marriage. (The use of a similar rock pillow occurs in several Havasupai myths in which men flee or are pursued by enemies or are so otherwise engaged that they wish to sleep lightly or awaken early.) [352 513] [841]

The mother's abdomen is bound tightly with a buckskin band, a Hopi belt, or a cloth. This is said to lessen the afterpains, but primarily it is intended to insure the return of the abdomen to normal size.

After delivery the mother wears an old dress which can be discarded if it becomes bloodstained. She retires to rest on her bed over the heated rocks and sand. The heat is thought to insure the flow of blood which, if it remains inside, will cause illness or death. There she spends most of her time for four days or longer if delivery has been difficult. To bring the milk quickly or to increase its quantity, she should lie prone so that the warmth will reach her breasts. [827]

The mother was given corn soup in former days, but now drinks tea or coffee first and a little later drinks the corn soup which is believed to make milk flow freely. After four days the mother eats solid foods and assumes normal eating when she feels so inclined.